Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NICOSI 00693 150545Z ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W

-----114166 151009Z /10

R 141655Z MAR 78

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7444

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY ISTANBUL

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USMISSION USNATO

CONFIDENTIAL NICOSIA 0693

EXDIS

BRUSSELS FOR USEEC

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2 TAGS: PGOV, CY

SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH CLERIDES

1. ON MARCH 13, I HAD A QUITE GET-TOGETHER WITH GLAFCOS CLERIDES, FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE CYPRUS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, ACTING PRESIDENT AFTER 1974 COUP AGAINST MAKARIOS, CURRENTLY LEADER OF THE DEMOCRATIC RALLY PARTY (DRP), AND A CLOSE FRIEND OF TEN YEARS' STANDING. THE CONVERSATION WAS INTERESTING CHIEFLY FOR CLERIDES' EXPLANATION OF HIS CURRENT PSOSITION VIS-A-VIS PRESIDENT KYPRIANOU AND CLERIDES' POLITICAL INTENTIONS.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NICOSI 00693 150545Z

2. IN BRIEF, CLERIDES ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE HAD RECEIVED "NO FIRM COMMITMENTS" FROM KYPRIANOU WHEN HE WITHDREW AS A CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY, BUT THERE HAD BEEN WHAT HE TERMED "CLEAR UNDERSTANDINGS." THESE COVERED CLERIDES' INSISTENCE ON A COUNCIL OF MINISTERS FREE OF COMMUNIST DOMINATION OR MEMBERSHIP, AGREEMENT TO CONSULT ON THE COMPOSITION OF THE COUNCIL AND NAME TWO OR THREE MINISTERS SYMPATHETIC TO CLERIDES BUT NOT

MEMBERS OF HIS PARTY, AND A GENERALLY PRO-WESTERN ORIENTATION OF GOC FOREIGN POLICY. CLERIDES HAD INFORMED DRP LEADERSHIP OF THESE UNDERSTANDINGS. CONSEQUENTLY, WHEN KYPRIANOU DID NOT CONSULT ABOUT COMPOSITION OF HIS NEW CABINET AND GAVE CLERIDES BARELY AN HOUR'S TELEPHONED INDICATION OF HIS INTENTIONS, CLERIDES HAD NO CHOICE OTHER THAT TO ANNOUNCE THAT THE DRP HAD WITHDRAWN ITS SUPPORT OF KYPRIANOU. TO DO OTHERWISE WOULD HAVE DESTROYED HIS CREDIBILITY WITH HIS OWN SUPPORTERS. CLERIDES SAID HE WOULD BE ANNOUNCING HIS OWN WITHDRAWAL FROM THE NATIONAL COUNCIL MARCH 14. TO STAY IN THE NATIONAL COUNCIL WOULD GIVE THE FALSE IMPRESSION THAT HE ENDORSED KYPRIANOU'S ACTIONS.

- 3. CLERIDES SAID HIS INTENTION IS TO GIVE CYPRUS, FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE INDEPENDENCE, A RESPECTABLE OPPOSITION TO GOVERNMENT. HE IS CONVINCED THAT, WITH TIME, OTHERS WILL FLOCK TO HIS STANDARD AS THEY BECOME DISILLUSIONED WITH KYPRIANOU. THERE HAVE ALREADY BEEN FEELERS FROM THE ZIARTIDES (PEO LABOR) FACTION OF AKEL. CLERIDES ASSERTS HE WILL CUT LOOSE FROM TIES WITH THE FAR RIGHT, WHICH HE ACKNOWLEDGES HAVE HURT HIM. THE FAR RIGHT, HE FEELS, CAN NOW MAKE ITS OWN ACCOMODATION WITH KYPRIANOU.
- 4. IN TERMS OF DOCTRINE, CLERIDES SAID KYPRIANOU IS TRYING TO CLOAK HIMSELF IN MAKARIOS LEGITIMACY. IN FACT, HE IS TAKING A FAR HARDER LINE THAN MARARIOS DID TOWARDS THE END OF HIS LIFE ON SUCH MATTERS AS REFUGEE RETURN, FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, SETTLEMENT, AND PROPERTY RIGHTS. THIS MAKES THE PROSPECTS CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NICOSI 00693 150545Z

FOR SERIOUS NEGOTIATION POOR INDEED. KYPRIANOU'S DEVIATION CAN BE DOCUMENTED, AND CLERIDES INTENDS TO DO THIS TO PROVE THAT IT IS HE AND THE DRP, RATHER THAN KYPRIANOU, WHO ARE THE ADVOCATES OF MAKARIOS' REAL WISHES.

- 5. CLERIDES PUT A QUESTION MARK ON THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF TASSO PAPADOPOULOS. HE WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO MANY DRP ELEMENTS. HE IS TEMPTED TO CAST HIS LOT WITH KYPRIOANOU IN ORDER TO REMAIN AS NEGOTIATOR, BUT PROBABLY WILL COME TO REGRET HIS DECISION AND LOSE THE POSITION OF NEGOTIATOR WHATEVER HE DOES.
- 6. WHILE CLERIDES FORSAW EVER-INCREASING SUPPORT FOR AN INVIGORATED DRP, HE AGREED THERE WAS LITTLE PROSPECT OF UNSEATING KYPRIANOU DURING HIS FIVE-YEAR TERM BARRING SOME UNFORESEEN MAJOR REVERSAL OR POSSIBLE INCAPACITATING ILLNESS.
- 7. COMMENT: UNDER MAKARIOS, CYPRUS WAS AN AUTOCRACY, NOT TRULY A DEMOCRACY. NOW, EIGHTEEN YEARS AFTER THE FOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC, IT APPEARS TO BE EMBARKED ON AN EXPERIMENT IN GENUINE PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY, COMPLETE WITH HONORABLE OPPOSITION THAT IS IN A GOOD POSITION TO EXPLOIT GOVERNMENT MISTAKES AND WEAKNESSES. THE DOUBLE IRONY FOR CLERIDES IS THAT

HIS POLITICAL VACILLATIONS AND TACTICAL ERRORS OVER THE YEARS HAVE COST HIM MUCH SUPPORT WITHIN HIS OWN PARTY, PARTICULARLY AMONG YOUNGER MEMBERS. AND, BY THE TIME THE PARTY HAS ITS FIRST REAL SHOT AT POWER FIVE YEARS HENCE, CLERIDES, THEN IN HIS MID-SIXTIES, WILL BE TOO OLD. CRAWFORD

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z Capture Date: 01 jan 1994 Channel Indicators: n/a

Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED

Concepts: GOVERNMENT REFORM, MEETINGS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, POLITICAL SITUATION

Control Number: n/a Copy: SINGLE Draft Date: 14 mar 1978 Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW Disposition Action: RELEASED Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW

Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014 Disposition Event:

Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978NICOSI00693
Document Source: ID: 02

Document Unique ID: 00 Drafter: n/a

Enclosure: n/a Executive Order: X2 Errors: N/A

Film Number: D780114-1212 Format: TEL From: NICOSIA

Handling Restrictions: Image Path:

ISecure: 1

Expiration:

Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780371/aaaacibw.tel

Line Count: 122 Litigation Code IDs: Litigation Codes:

Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

Message ID: 3fe4f5c7-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc

Office: ACTION SS

Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a

Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS

Reference: n/a Retention: 0

Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED Review Content Flags:

Review Date: 17 may 2005 Review Event:

Review Exemptions: n/a **Review Media Identifier:** Review Release Date: n/a Review Release Event: n/a **Review Transfer Date:** Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a

SAS ID: 3340720 Secure: OPEN Status: NATIVE

Subject: CONVERSATION WITH CLERIDES TAGS: PGOV, CY, US, (CLERIDES, GLAFCOS)

To: STATE Type: TE

vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/3fe4f5c7-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc

Review Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014